1: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE PATRILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

571 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
582 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
582 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might
596 find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouse, father and father's brothers and their respective wives, ego's brothers and their wives, ego's sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and ego's sons' children. Within such a group, ego would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[582] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

582 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
596 tom was formerly widespread. With many wives residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

582 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
583 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence -- at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships -- and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word familia is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is -- at least during one or more phases of its development -- always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is ruka (house), and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, ruka is never used in the sense of lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilineal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past ruka commonly designated extended and/or compound-family households, which again suggests that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

[43] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

C13 [illegible] Lof and kiñeke are used to indicate a group of rukas (households) [831] which have some special cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps VI and VII). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of lof, informants state that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen -- father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [87] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the lof functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

[87] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.* Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality -- neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilineal rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

*Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilineal rule of descent which unites the central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit – that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are

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obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4. It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit. I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as ruka, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

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recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing economic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lafkeh*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household* units (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in different areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A, which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households might be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[See CAT 116, pp. 229 – 233 — Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED *		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonquen	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Wallkun	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchunao	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [594] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often [594] returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 594 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between them- 593 selves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are powerful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 619 621 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large.

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes where they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant patrilineage, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house.

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not so great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere.

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of

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rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

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former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships -- that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

B:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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[575 576 577 167] range, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

575 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [564] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these [p]olygynists seem to fit into this category.

[594 595] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

575 [413] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[618 618 587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

U:Faron E-5 (1954-1994)1961 EC4 Araucanians EC4
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[illegible] these developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today appear to be. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the age chart (e.g. Titiev, [illegible], pp. 79, 98, et passim). We have seen that this combined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic preconceptions found in the literature.

Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

Id. Paris E-6.9 (1956-1958) 1964
BGB Accessions 504
Majumdar

ers. It is directly from the father that all men acquire lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These include the right to land and house site, the right to participate in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they were in days long in the recent past. A few generations ago, the chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such powers, his seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-generational household. In many cases, there are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to solicit his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a man's wife. These are indeed both rights, theoretically subject to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in ensuring independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

When we move into the sphere of Hopi morality,

12: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1956) 1964
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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the dilatun. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A kalku's children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a machi to perform a machitun (or machiputun), and at considerable expense since several machi and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The kalku was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into reducciones and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential